

AN ANSWER

TO A

Scurrilous Pamphlet,

INTITLED,

Observations upon a Compleat History of
the Lives and Reignes of *MARY* Queen of Scotland,
and of her Son King *James*, of Great Britain, France
and Ireland the Sixth.

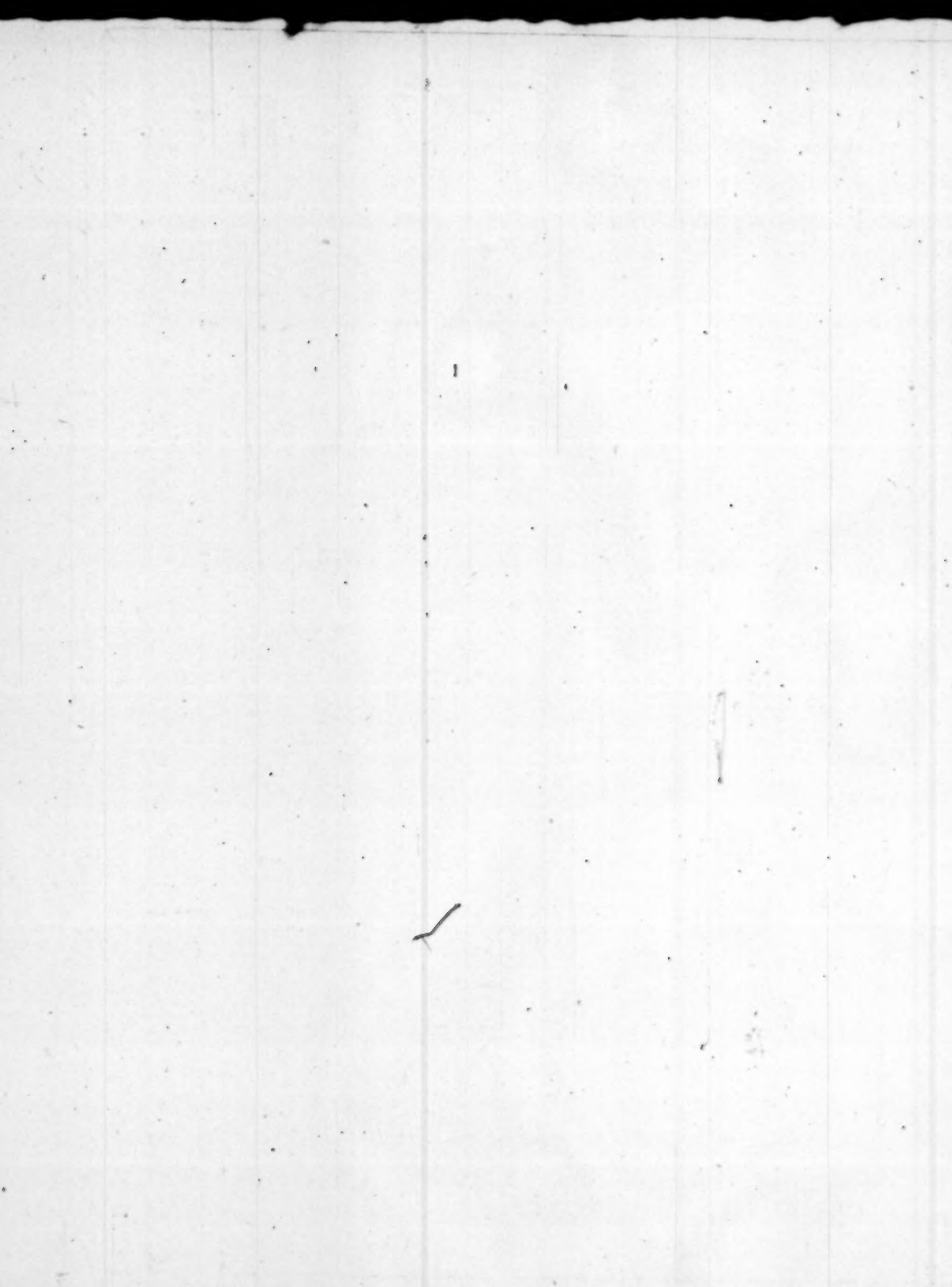
The Libeller without a Name, set out by *G. Bedell*
and *T. Collins* two Booksellers :

But the History Vindicated by the Author
WILLIAM SANDERSON Esq;



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AN ANSWER TO A *Scurrilous Pamphlet, &c.*

Page first. Paragraph first.



He first line names me, [One Mr. *Sanderfon* (saith he) who hath lately written a Book, which hee calls a Compleat History of *Mary* Queen of Scotland, and *James* her Son, the Sixth of Scotland and first of England.] He is false in his first Page; not vouchsafing to recite the truth, or to afford him the Title, K. *James*; and goes on [that it is not a History, but a Libell, against all good Men, and good actions, and with most servile flattery, prayseth and exalteth the bad, both Men and matters: That this whole Booke is a Rapsody of Notes, and scattered papers, without order or method, exceedingly defective, both in time, place, and Nomination; unseemly and disjoynted. a stile without understanding, &c. The language darke, harsh and intelligible.]

Thus, his first page fills, and is false in all. In reciting my Title which is, A Compleat History of the Lives and Reignes of *Mary* Queene of Scotland, and of her Sonne and Successor *James* the sixth. King of Scotland, and (after *Queen Elizabeth*) King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland the first, of ever blessed memory. And in all and every one of the rest his scandalls, as to every particular, I submit to the sensure of wiser men than my selfe. and honeste than he the Observer, or these, his Book-sellers, *Bedell* and *Collins*.

Page 2.

[But (saith he) that you may the better know the *Ware*, out of this mans shop, I shall give you his Character, and trace him from his Parents.] His Father was a Gentleman, though poore; he was of kinn

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to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and in the time of his prosperity and greatness, was his servant, intrusted with his Moneyes, by which he became in Arreares in great summes, which Sir *Walter* (after his troubles) sent for, But he pretended, that Sir *Walter* should owe him 2000 l. whereupon Sir *Walter* commenced a Suite against him, and *Sanderson* being overthrown, and found in Arreares to Sir *Walter*, in very great summes, was cast into prison, and there dyed a poore contemptible begger: And hence originally sprang all the spleen and malice of this man to Sir *Walter*.]

His second Page wholly contains a scurrilous false scandall on my Father.

My Father now dead 25. yeares since, and then about 90. yeares of age, whose extraction and discent antiently from *Robert*, Lords of *Bedic* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and as appears by his Pedegree inrowled in the Office of Armes, without craving advantage of kinne to Sir *Walter Raleigh*: the other a Gentleman of greater Antiquity, and just and worthy memory; which might be sufficient for the dead, but not for me now living to vindicate from slander, I having no ambition to repeate his merits, as an advantage thereby to the dead, or to me, no otherwise than in duty I am bound, thus farre to proceed therein, and farther to say, That my Father was bred up in the City of *London* under Tutelage of Mr *Allen*, Queen *Elizabeths* Merchant, (one so called for hir Maritime affaires) the most part of his youth beyond Seas: His elder brother dying, hee became heire to 700. pound per annum, land of Inheritance, in severall places, viz. In *London*, at *Layton* in *Essex*, (being his Country house and land, of retyring,) at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, at *Barstable* in *Deavon*; in *Ireland*, of great value, untill the Rebellion of *Tyrone*, and then sold for 1500 pounds; at *Lambeth*, in *Surry*. At his returne home, he settled himselfe in a faire house, now the *Hoope Taverne* in *St Magnus* Parish *London*, his Inheritance there with other Tenements, His Cote, Armes, and Name, with the yeare of our Lord fixed in convenient places of that house doe now evidence. And in this condition he was intrusted soly, to negotiate at Court, concerning the *Queens* Part in all the Spanish prize goods. In which he was made Commissioner, and thereby to attend the then Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and often times to speake with the Queen, by favour of such as had relation to Her. Where he, at 30. yeares of age, married *Margaret* the Daughter of *Hugh Snowdale*, alias, *Snedale*, a Commander in the *Queenes* Navy-Royall. In all this time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* not qualified to keep other

other then ordinary Attendants, his condition (a younger Brother, and unfetled) enforced him, like a gallant Gentleman (I confesse) and honourably, into Forraigne parts, *France, Ireland*, and severall expeditions at Sea, to raise his fortunes by the Sword: and certainly *Sanderfon* was never his Souldier and disdained to be his *Servant*. But, *Sir Walter* returning home to his Center the Court, his Sisters Daughter (*Mrs. Snedale*) married to *Sanderfon*, who was become the Queens Customer and Farmer, for the Over-lengths of Broad-cloaths; was pleased to descend so far, as to be a continuall guest at *Sanderfon's* Hou'e, then in *London*, and *Layton* in *Essex*, and his best friend, it seemes; whither he brought his Wife a Guest, himselfe then in disgrace concerning her, (I will be civill.) And as *Sir Walter's* occasions had need, (Courtiers not being over-nice to make them often) he engaged *Sanderfon* for him in 16000 l. and was indebted besides to *Sanderfon*, in severall summes of mony, as his Cash-books do yett evidence, amounting to 4000 l. (the *Observer* sayes, but 2000 l.)

And *Sir Walter*, in his journey towards his Arraignment at *Winchester*, *Sanderfon* with other Gentlemen being in sight upon *Honnslow-heath*, *Sir Walter* was pleased to stop his Coach, and said Nephew *Sanderfon*, upon my soul, I am more grieved for my engagements and debts to you, than for any other sufferings that may befall me. And good Mr. Leivtenant (of the Tower, sitting beside him) what ere becomes of me and mine, I beseech the King to be good to this worthy Gentleman: Both of them weeping, upon my oath, that was present.

And after *Sir W^{al}ters* reprieve, became Suites in Law between *Sanderfon*, about *Sir W^{al}ter's* debts, and *Shelbury* the Solicitor: But, that *Sanderfon* was then indebted, or ever Arrested, or sued for debts of Arrears to him, or cast in Prison, or dyed in Prison, a poor contemptible beggar, is most untrue and scandalous; for *Sanderfon* lived some years in the Strand, where he dyed, and was embalmed many months, untill his Sons came over from beyond Seas, and buried him in the Parish Church of *Savoy*, leaving Lands of inheritance to his Children, that live without begging; and so is the originall cause of malice, in my Father or Me, to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, with whom, in the Tower my Father and Mother, my Selfe and Brethren, were very often, in visits of civility, and respect to each other; and afterward, even at his Chamber dore, the night before he suffered: For after *Sir W^{al}ters* Sentence, and Reprieve to the Tower close Prisoner, (and

(and friendlesse, he saies) only Mr. *Lessells*, my Ladies friend, did not leave her. This Gentleman can tell, that Mr. *Sanderfon*, by his interest with the Lord Treasurer *Salisbury*, procured the effect and prayer of her Petition, to visit her Husband, and to be close Prisoner with him; and but time, for it was said, she suddainly conceived.

But to evidence, that Mr. *Sanderfon*'s condition, was not likely to seek his Fortune, by serving Sir Walter, I am put upon the Readers patience, for my excuse and pardon, to add something more. For virtues consist not in Negatives.

My Father was not wanting in the commendable mysterie of the Merchant Adventurers; witnesse those long since printed Tractates, and many Manuscripts and Papers, which I have of his (and one *Malynes* his Assistant) for the discovery of the secret mysterie of Bullion and Monies. the exchange and rechange, single and double usance of Monies amongst Merchants; the *Cambio Regis*, of which the Treasurers, *Burleigh* and *Sackville*, would say, That *Sanderfon* understood the Theory and Practick more, then most English Merchants. Sir *Abraham Dawes* did professe, that he knew Mr. *Sanderfon* a worthy Merchant; and certainly, (saide he) in comparision of him, many of us are but Pedlars.

And being very well seen in the matter of Monies and Oar, he Farmed of King *James* the Mines Royall of *England*, and so set hundreds of men at work, to his great expence and losse, in *Darbyshire*, *Worcester-shire*, *Devon*, &c. whereabouts I have been often with him.

He would complain of his deficiency, but was highly affected to Learned men and Arts; witnesse his own words, which so pleased *Camden*, that famous Schollar, and his friend, that he put them into Latine.

*Non me suscepit gremio divina Mathesis,
Nec studiis, (agnosco dolens) stellis ve doceri &c.*

They are fully exprest and graven upon the English great Globes; which Globes, when that excellent Mathematician *Vright*, and the rare Artizan *Molineux*, could not finde any other person, willingly to disburse above 1000 l. to perfect them, my father did: They are yet in being, great and small ones, Celestiall and Terrestriall, in both our Universities, and in severall Libraries (here, and beyond Seas:) The Inscription and Dedication to Queen *Elizabeth*, with *Sanderfon*'s Coat of

of Armes and Name upon them, do manifest; for which, *Garter*, then principall K. of Armes, (by the Queenes command advanced the bearing of *Sanderſon's* Crest, antiently the *Talb.*, and his Motto, *Rien ſans Dien*, with an addition of a Globe Terreſtriall, affixed to the Sun in luſtre, proper, with this Motto, *Opera Mundi*, to him and his heires for ever.

The Terreſtriall being firſt preſented to Queen *Elizabeth*, at an entertainment at my Fathers houſe (then *Newington-Butts*) upon which ſhe was pleaſed to deſcant, *The whole earth, a preſent for a Prince; but with the Spaniſh Kings leave*, ſhe ſaid, alluding to his Emblem, a Spaniſh Genet, in ſpeed upon the Globe of the Earth: his fore-feet over-reaching, with this Motto, *Non ſufficit Orbis*. At her ſecond entertainment there, ſhe receiving the Celeſtiall ſaid, *Thou haſt preſented me with the Heavens alſo: God guide me, to Govern my part of the one, that I may enjoy but a manſion place in this other*.

And afterwards, he employed *VVright* and other Mathematicians, to compoſe and frame, that then admired double Sphear, preſented by *Sanderſon* to Prince *Henry*, with a Manuſcript of the uſe thereof; not long ſince remaining in the Library of Saint *James*. He knowing my Fathers affection to Arts, commended *Bloys*, a man of ſkill pretending to the perpetuall motion, which was endeavourd at my Fathers houſe, then at *Iſlington*, and brought to excellent obſervation, and at his coſt and charges. A mighty Wheel it was, of large Circumference, erected upon Beams, with maſſy bolts of Iron, faſtned to each ſpoke, which being ſet on going, in their very declining & deſcending of each in turn, ſhot their Bolts from the Center to the out-Circle, with ſuch force in the fall, as raiſed the next ſpoke and bolt from his Center, who performed his part as the laſt before; and ſo in courſe: which at the firſt motion was of that might and ſwiftheſſe, as, with horrore and noiſe of clattering the bolts, affrighted the Prince and company, the firſt that ſaw its motion: But then in an hour, leſſening by inſenſible degrees, the force weakned and waſting, the Motion at laſt ſtood ſtill. It was framed and ſet up in a very large Barn, no other room being capable of the Circle.

What need I number up his affection to the Art and uſes of Navigation, to finde out the Longitude and Variation, of the Variation of the Needle; as may appear by the work, the various intricate Maze, and Labyrinth of Lines and Circles, drawn upon ſeverall ſuperficies of Bodies, do demonſtrate the endeavour. His extraordinary ſole expence and charge, with his own two Ships, the

Sunshine and Rainbow, set out by him under command of that famous Navigator, *John Davis*, for the North-West passage, called by him *Fretum Davis*; where he named sundry places in reference to his Undertaker, as, *Sanderſon's Tower*, *Hope Sanderſon*, in honour of his Memory, and encouragement to others: They are ſo mention'd upon all Globes and Maps, here and beyond Seas, that ever I ſaw ſince. The particulars of all theſe, you may read in *Hackluits Voyages* and *Discoveries*, with Letters, Dedications, and other paſſages, to confirm what is here ſaid. And at the return of *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* from compaſſing the Earth, in honour to them, and their Memory, which he deſired, and in favour to him, they performed, Baptizing two of his Sons after their Surnames: *Drake* died in the *West Indies* at *Saint Dominica*; but another Brother returned, both of them in purſuit after Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his laſt unfortunate Voyage. Another Son caſt away on the Coaſt of *America*; called then *Norombega*: Another, in diſcovery of the North-weſt paſſage, with Captain *Veymouth*: Another, in the *East-Indies*: Another, of ſome note, firſt, in the *West Indies*, and afterwards eight years a Commander with the Dutch againſt the Portingalls in the *East-Indies*; then in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Swethen*, *Germany*; and laſtly, (but the firſt Colonell) that ever carried a double Regiment of 2000. men by Sea, about the *Norway Cape*, to the Emperor of *Mosco*, in ſervice at *Smolenſco*, againſt the Pole, where he was baſely murdered by that Scot, Sir *David Leſly*, as you may finde mentioned and enroll'd upon Record, in the Office of Armes. So much for my Father and them, and now, with favour, alſo for my ſelfe.

[For this man himſelfe (ſaies he) he lived, for oughts I could ever hear (he hath enquired) at firſt, very obſcurely, and ſtudied *Herauldry*.]

I never durſt preſume to the knowledge of that noble Science and Study, *Herauldry*, other then an admirer of that, and ſuch like, honourable Studies, becomming a Gentleman, not to be wholly ignorant of, in ſome proportion; nor am I, in this particular, ſo far proficient, as to diſtinguiſh a *Barr in Bearing*, to ſignifie a *Baſtard*.

And ſo much acquainted I have been with *Listleton*, as to be Secretary to the Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, untill his death, who ſucceeded *Cicell*, the Earl of *Salisbury*.

Page 3. [Heſtelſus (ſaies he) that he was ſervant to the Lord Roſſe, in his Spaniſh Embaſſie; a fit Servant no doubt for ſuch a Maſter; for

for what that Lord was is notoriously known to most men, yet living.]

I tell you so now, but never before, that I was secretary to the Lord Rosse, being Ambassador extraordinary, to the King of Spaine, who though well known to many men, whilst he lived, yet I beleieve (by your favour Sir) *Not notoriously known to most men yet living.* You notoriously, are mistaken; a million to one, that is odds enough. How ever, expect not of me, to ravell into your meaning, *what that Lord was?*

In my returne homewards from *Spain*, and after some stay in *France*, I came to Court; where it pleased that very reverent Prelate *James Mountague*, Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, to receive me neer his Person, during his life; He having the honour to be admitted into King *James* Bedchamber (never any Church man so, before or since:) Prelate of the Garter, and Privy Councillour. & some have since observed his power with that King and great interest in Ecclesiasticall affaires, (an Observator, concerning him therein, must amend his mistaken notes) his vertues and learning, I did reverence; my poor indeavours could merit but little, though I had the meanes and occasion to improve, and so much of his esteem, which continued me in grace and favour which his right Honorable Brother the Earle of *Manchester*, Lord Privy seal; and the Lord *Mountague*: Who were pleased to own me, a professed servant (as I am) to all that noble family.

He was at the siege of Breda under the Earle of Oxford, to whom he gives the title of debest Lord. Page 3.

Not to be wholly ignorant of war, and a fair occasion offered, I was at the siege of *Breda* with the Earle of *Oxford*; secretary and paymaster to the Regiment. and very often upon duty; and the Ensigne being hurt, I bore his colours in the march into *Cleveland* & at the taking in of the Town of *Cleve*, but a volunteer in arms: being often sent over into *England*, to attend our Councell of Warr here, who disposed the English, in reference to that designe, of assisting the Dutch, against the house of *Austria*. And in my Book, taking occasion to answer the calumnies throughout the *History of great Britain*, wherein the Author, Page 161. [*Oxford* (sayes he,) was of no reputation in his youth, being very deboshed and riotous, & having no meanes, maintained it by sordid and unworthy wayes] In answer to whom, I derive that Earles high extraction, & descent from his first Ancesters & their Creations; this man (say I) was now returned home from travell, to recover his former debaucheries, &c. And my observator suffering the

other words from One printed 1653. quarrells now with mine, which rebukes the other, but modestly as to the truth.

Page 3.

And certainly, Sir, these employments of mine, are not over contemptible, nor masked, unless to your *obscure* condition, [That can not learn (as you say) that this man, meaning me, had ever any relation to the Court, more than at large; untill he became secretary to the Earle of *Holland*, when he was Chancellor of *Cambridge* (which he never was (wise aker) but of the University) where he behaved himselfe (you say) so corruptly, that he was in great disgrace and scorne, turned out of his place, for taking bribes of divers Scholers, to make them Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, when the King came to an Inter-tainment at *Cambridge*, (With the Maior he meanes) so that for a long time after, those men were by every boy, called *Sandersons* Doctors.]

How this Scandall doth trench upon the University in generall, and upon the worthy Graduates, then Commencers, in particular, I submit to their wisdoms; not minding to mix so grave an Accusation, with petty single Interest of other things, in this place; but, to refer the Vindication as an Appendix to this Discourse, being of some consequence to be considered by it selfe, and that not briefly neither: For, untill this Libeller without a Name, no other Calumniator durst ever be so impudent, as once to tax those proceedings upon them or me.

[*A pretty while after, he saies (which was many years before) he married the late Queenes Landresse, and so might perchance creep (again) into her chamber below stairs.]*

A scandall upon her, of double sense, as if I had crept thither before Marriage; to which her self makes answer, That she is a Gentlewoman tender of a scandall, and of the antient Family of *Tyrrill*, and Sister to the now Sir *Edward Tyrrill* of *Thornton*, in the County of *Buckingham*, Knight and Baronet. That by her Office and Title, (Mrs. Landresse to the Queenes Body) and by her birth besides, was alwaies a Companion above stairs, for a better woman then a Libellers Wife, were he of more fame then him we suspect; and as for her honesty, she never had a *Damarah* to her Daughter, before she had a Husband. And Mr. *Sanderson* was able with above a 1000 l. to buy her this place, and not to beg it. That she never falsified her Oath, nor was perfidious to her Sovereigne. This is somewhat sharp Sir (a womans honour is concerned) 'tis her own inckle assure you, without any gaul of mine Sir, and you are well that it is no worse.

And :

[And now (saies he) I shall proceed to examine some particulars Page 4.
in his Book, and decline any thing concerning the Queen of Scots, or
that part of the story.]

It is the first part of my History (the whole containing above 600.
large folioes) to which his Reading hath not reached so far before ,
being 128 folio, and not a fault to be found.

[Only he will observe some passages of Queen *Elizabeths* Raigne ,
that I give a harsher censure upon *Essex* and his offences, then any
Writer heretofore.]

Not by a hundred. He loves Traitors with his heart , it seems, and
by no means would have *them*, nor *their Treason harshly censured*.
If I thought it were not dangerous for his health, I could turn him to
the Authors; for so he finding the truth, might despair and hang
himselfe.

Then he traverseth back again, and but a word. [He seemes
(saies he) to insinuate out of some discourse, between Secretary *Davi-*
son and Queen *Elizabeth*, that she would have had the Queen of
Scots poisoned by *Pawlet* and *Drury*, which they refused.]

All Authors herein, *English, Scottish, Latine, French, Spanish*, do
intimate a cunning unwilling willingnesse in Queen *Elizabeth*, to
stain her honour in the blood of the Queen of Scots, her Kinswoman,
and next to succeed to this Crown; and yet desirous to be rid of her
one way or another, she treats with *Davison*, out and in, what to do.
He to be quit of the mischief (by example of *Burleigh*, for the hasty
execution of *Norfolk*) advises with *Hatton*, and utterly refuses to en-
gage any further; untill the Council encouraged him. *Davison* watch-
ing her doubtfull humour. asked her plainly, if her minde were al-
tered? No, (said she) but some other course might be taken: And de-
manded if *Pawlet* had returned his answer, whose Letters directly
refusing to undertake it, as neither honourable nor just, she, in a chafe,
said, That there were many amongst them, that would do more in
their own cause. But *Davison* told her of the infamy, injustice, and
hazard to *Pawlet* and *Drury*: For Madam (said he) if you allow the
fact, you draw upon your selfe danger and disgrace; and if you dis-
allow it, you ruine them and their Posterity.

Upon all these dissemblings, I concluded.

Hereby (said I) appears foul play, intended by another (no doubt)
wicked way, which *Pawlet* and *Drury* boggled at to perform; and
yet we see what daubing there was on all sides, to cast the blame and

after-shame on any, to keep the stain and blot from the eminent actors, *Folio 128*. But to all the other stuffe, his nonsense, *Tua non mordet*; I pittie his ignorance, and disdain to answer, but refer to the History, *Folio 127*.

Page 5.

He hath skipt over the first Book of my History, 262 *Folios*, without any other faults then as before. He threatned much matter amisse: Is this all? [A History (you said, page 1.) a Libell against all good men, all good actions, servilely exalting the bad, both men and matter.] to be hitherto only insisted upon in *Essex* Treason, and he the good man, and his, the good matter? But let us see the second Part, where he insists upon Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and begins his Observations upon King *James*, whom he lamely commends, the better to abuse him, and basely to calumniate after.

Page 5. For he tells us [that King *James* failed in King-craft, being over-reached (sayes he) in his treaties by all Princes and States his spending more in frivolous Embassies than would have raised an army to to have settled his childrens Inheritance.] Simply said! [That he refused to be head of all the Protestant Princes in Christendome, whereby he might have given Law to this World.] What an oversight was this? [But he inclined to thier enemy the Papist, and so ruined the one, and advanced the other] How prove you that Sir? [That his accession to *England* was thought the greatest happinesse but hath proved the greatest misfortune to both.] And why? [for, after a miserable and wasting civill Warr, we see his posterity overthrowne, and cast out of their inheritance very unlikely to repossesse it.] And was King *James* the cause of these calamities? [No not altogether] who then? He hath found the onely cause. [The secret predetermination of the allseeing God, other reason no man knowes.] The guilty will not acknowledge, til the last dreadfull day of accompt, when the sentence shall say, *Go ye cursed, &c.* All this while he is busied with Kings, but talks to himselfe, and so I escape his censure; not a word of me or mine.

Page 6.

But now, oh now! How pittifully he payes the poore Scots, [A people (sayes he) once famous for Warr, and high reputation; now the most despicable conquered people upon the face of the whole earth (bate me an ace, quoth *Bolton* worfe then the Jewes?) their modelling all reformed Kirk, hath now no where a being; and the nation subjugated to a forraigne power? &c. This is the Lords doing and marvellous in our eyes.] And after his pittifull search into humane

Judgment [Much of this he attributes to the greatnesse, power, & prodigality of that Nation in their accessse to *England*, insolent and proud.]

And is this all Sir, that you can find out, to be the efficient cause of their great miseries? Nay he hath met with more. [perchance (sayes he) for some falshood and treacheries, even to their own Princes] Is it even so, Sir, the Lord have mercy upon all other such sinfull soules? But how [conquered and subjugated to Foraigne power] is past my comprehension, or how can he hold forth all this, without publique Censure?

Page 7.

But enough of this (he sayes) now have at my Book and me.

[I now will take notice (sayes he) of such aspersions as this Author bestowes on particular persons of honour and worth, through his whole Book, he makes it his business to rail at good men and defend the bad.]

He being come to *Folio* 284 of my History, finds no other aspersions then as you have heard. And now you may wonder who these *good men* are? why, who but traytors? He meanes them in the very next line, *Cobham* and *Raleigh* the men, and *Treason* the matter. But *Raleigh* sticks most in his stomach: and truly it regrets upon mine, for me now againe, to re-rip up the mis-actions of the dead: but I am challenged, he accuses me, I do but defend my selfe.

[*Where, in the Character of Raleigh (he sayes) I allow him a grand enemy to the Spaniard, and opposer of the peace; yet immediately after believes him a conspirer with the Spaniard, but tells us not in what particular. Folio* 284. Page 7.]

You have forgot ten lines before *Folio* 283. Where I say, that at the entrance of the King, he was presented by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a manuscript of his making, against the peace with *Spaine*, it was his Table-talk, to beget more esteem, which took accordingly (this answers my first assertion) and the way to unbend him was the work of the Spanish faction, either to buy him out of that humour, or to abuse him into worse condition, which was effected by this way, *Folio* 283. And so, I enter instantly, upon the plot of treason, and conspiracy, with *Wasson* and *Clarke*, two *Spanish* Priests; *Cobham* and *Brooks* with others; *Grey* and *Raleigh*, &c. *Fol.* 283. And there I tell you and afterwards [*In what particular he should have served him.*] And I proved the particulars by *Cobham's* confession *Fol.* 285. That *Raleigh* had agreed that he should treat with *Aremburg* the *Spanish* Ambassador for 600000. Crownes, to advance the title of the Lady *Arabella* to this

this *Crown*: That *Cobham*, under pretence of travelling, should prosecute this designe in the *Low-Countries, Flanders, France, and Spain*: and to carry three *Letters* from her to the *Arch-Duke, Duke of Savoy, and King of Spain*. To meet *Raleigh* at *Jersey*, the place of his command, and there to agree, &c. and *Raleigh* to have 7000 *Crownes* for his expence, *Fol. 285*. You are now satisfied.

Page 7. [That *Raleigh's Jury* was called at the Bar, being of *Middlesex Jury*, against whose persons he did not except.]

Nor could (said I) for they were his Peers, the most able sufficient of *Middlesex*, where the fact had its Scene, *Folio 284*.

Nor did (saies he) for *Raleigh* knew them not, being a packt Jury, wanting honesty and understanding.] Any Threefe at *Newgate* may say so, and refuse their *Verdict*.

It is a scandall upon the Proceedings to say [That the intended Jury was changed over night.] For these were of *Middlesex*, and ordered long before to attend at *Winchester*; many of them *Justices of the Peace, Sir Ralph Conisby, Sir Thomas Fowler, Sir William Roe, Sir Edward Peacock*, and others, the most able for estates, worth, and knowledge; a fairer Tryall was never afforded in *Treason*, with favour of the King, who took off the Assistance of three of his own Councill, *Sergeant Crook, Mr. Solicitor, and Sir Francis Bacon*, as not to overcharge the Prisoner with too much Pleading: And three things more therein I observe in the whole proceeding before; not to be used rigorously, for no torture was forced upon any Examinant; nor inordinately, none pressed to accuse another: and yet here was *Brook* against his Brother *Cobham*, and he against his deer friend *Raleigh*: Not precipitately, for it was a long time ere they came to Tryall, and *Raleigh* allowed to sit down with pen, inck, and paper.

Page 8.

[The Arraignment is in Print, he saies,] where those Authors speak more against him say I. [But he will yet demand of me,

1. Why *Cobham* was not brought face to face?

2. What it was that ever *Cobham* accused *Raleigh* of.

3. Whether ever any man was condemned by a single witnesse?]

1. I answer to the First, The Court and Judges gave it for Law and Reason, that it was not necessary in *Treason*: So the Prisoner may outbrave any Witnesse, and cause him to change his Confession, as might be suspected *Cobham* would do, in compassion to *Raleigh*, being himselfe condemned, and willing no doubt now to save the other.

3. And

3. And to the *Last*, I say, That it was most usuall and Legall, where many Circumstances, as here, do conduce to the truth. It was *Raleigh's* policie to have but one Witnesse in the *Conspiracie*; thereby he meant to escape, either that *Cobham* must accuse him, or none can, and he but One, *Raleigh* might be safe. If *A.* conspire a *Treason* only with *B.* and he with *C.* and he with *D.* who can prove this *Treason*, if not by One of them, and Circumstances also? If any one of these confesse it, need we more Witnesse to accuse himselfe and the other? A *Murtherer* is met with a bloody sword, comming forth of the Kings Chamber, and he kill'd: is not one Witnesse sufficient? *Cobham* accuseth *Raleigh*, and he denies it: In *Star-chamber*, then, and *Chancery*, now; for matters of Tittle, his Deniall or Oath does not acquit him, in *propria Causa*, much lesse in *Treason*.

2. And to the *Second*, see *Brooks*, and *Cobham's*, and others Confessions, which confirme him a *Traitor* throughout; concluding, that *Raleigh* was the instigator to the *Treason*, *Fol. 285*.

The first of *Edward* the sixth, which requires two Witnessees, was repealed by the first and second of *Philip* and *Mary*, reducing all to the *Common-Law*, which is by one Witnesse.

[But he assures us of a Letter of *Cobham's*, written to *Raleigh* the night before his Tryall, to clear him from *Treason*; which Letter, he saies, was produced at a Committee of Parliament, by *Mr. Cary Raleigh*.] Page 8.

I answer, That all the severall Letters were read contradicting themselves, and each the other (as Delinquents in *Treason* use to do) and therefore were adjudged not satisfactory, as to acquit either of them then. And for this pretended Letter shewed to the Committee, you should have inserted here, if not ashamed of it: But to do you Justice, I will set it down, as it was offered in the Tryall, which was not needfull in my History; nor now, but to convince your ignorance.

Seeing my selfe (saies *Cobham*) so neer my end, and for the discharge of my owne Conscience from the blood, which else would cry for vengeance against me: I protest, upon my salvation, I never practised with Spain by your procurement. God p osfer me in this my affliction, as you are a true Subject, for any thing that I know. I will say with *Pilat*, *Purus sum à sanguine hujus*: So God have mercy on my soul, as I know no treason by you.

This is somewhat satisfactory. untill you hear more: But, you are mistaken, to say, it was the last Letter, the night before the Tryall: I will clear your intelligence with a truth, and with the very last Letter indeed,

indeed, which he writ to the Lords Commissioners, the night before Raleigh's tryall.

I have thought fit (saies Cobham) to set down this to my Lords; wherein I protest, on my soul, to write nothing but the truth. I am now to come neer the period of my time, therefore I protest the truth before God and his Angells. Raleigh, four daies before I came to the Tower, caused an Apple to be throwne in at my window, the effect thereof was, to inreat me, to right the wrong I had don him, in saying, that I should come home by Jerley, which under my hand to him, I have retracted. His first Letter which was throwne in, in the same manner, wherein he prayed me write to him a Letter, which I did. He sent me word, that the Judges were at Mr. Atorney's house, and there was good hope, that the proceedings against us should be stayed. At Aramburgh's comming, Raleigh dealt with me, to procure a Pension of 1500l. a year, for which he promised, that no action should be done against Spain, but he would give knowledge before hand. He told me, that the States had audience with the King. He hath been the Original cause of my ruine, for I had no dealing with Aramburgh, but by his instigation. He hath been the cause of my discontentment. He advised me not to be overtaken with Preachers, as Essex was, and that the King would better allow of a constant deniall, than to accuse any.

And now Raleigh being asked what he could say to this last Letter, writ with his own hand over night, from a dying condemned man; He answered, I say, that Cobham is a base, dishonorable, poor soul.

I have been told, that Mr. Cary upon some pretence, was a suitor to the Parliament for somewhat of Sr. Walters (no matter now for what: I shall have time to tell him that, and more also, in another place hereafter) and Mr. Cary was like to carry it, when a worthy Member stepped up, and laid in his way a Bar in Law, That Treason taints the Issue: upon which, came out a Letter to the Committee, which could never clear him, nor the Treason: If I be mistaken, let him help me hereafter, when he shall hear more of that in due place and time.

But wherein [may one perceive my spleen against Sir Walter Raleigh.]

For I remember, the first time that Mr. Cary Raleigh came to Court, commended by Mr. Lessells, and called mostly Mr. Cary; to whom I was very civill; for Mr. Lessell: called him my Cousin: And afterwards, an occasion was offered for me to do him kindenesse:

One *Saintravy*, a *Frenchman*, had affronted him at Court, which by means of my noble friends, was examined, where *Saintravy* utterly refused to submit, about the boxing. It was urged besides, that *Saintravy* called him, *The Son of a Traitor*: The Lords laughed (for Mr. *Lessells* was by, who was said to be like him) and *Saintravy* being rounded in the ear, smiled, and said, *That he was sorry to be mistaken*; and so made it the worse, and the wound wider, to those that were told the meaning: However, my respects and service appeared to Sir *Walters* Kinsman, which approves me without spleen.

Page 9.

[*That Cook the Attorney* (he saies) *being retired from the Bar*, Page 9. *whilst Sir Walter was sentenced for Treason, to d his man, that he accused him but of Misprison:*] And swears, [*Upon the word of a Christian, Sir Edward Cook's own mouth told him so, since.*]

Cook, that had both charged him home with direct Treason, & indeed very unseemly, and often, called him *Traitor*, then *Traitor Raleigh*, to his face, should but turn his back from the Bar, and in an instant, after Sentence, mince his Treason to *misprison*, is most unlikely: [*And to tell it since*] to one without a name. But, we see how he swears, [*as he is a Christian*]; perhaps he is none: No body, who will give him credit?

[*Having* (he saies) *done with his Treason, he descends to his Travels*, 14 years after,] which he accounts in my *History*, to be Folio 459 and as yet, no other faults to be found.

Page 10.

[*That King James* (he saies) *forbad Sir Walter's Book*, for some Page 10. *passages in it, which offended the Spaniards*, (a far-fetch'd reason) *and for being to plain with the faults of Princes.*]

I answer, Certainly King *James*, and all other Princes, had cause of complaint: For, his whole Book sets out the *Eastern Monarchs* with much glory, & exclaims against *Christian Princes*, as most inhuman, tracing all the *English Sovereigns* from the Conquest, especially *Henry the Eighth*, whom, for his Daughters honour, (*Queen Elizabeth*) *Sr. Walter* might have spared from gall and bitterness: she raising him from nothing who rewards her with ignomy of her Father; Nor could he love the child, whose Sire he hates: and King *James* perhaps might observe more, to repress the wickedness of such a person, who under pretence of rooting a vice in the Father, intended cunningly to stain the whole Race: He covertly leaving the Reader in great doubt of *Queen Elizabeths* merit, whom he had reason to set out, not in

silence; whether in fear, or in fraud, I judge not.
 Pag. 10. He saies, [*That the Lord Chancellor or Verulam told Sir Walter, that his Commission from the King, under the great Seal of England, to be Generall of his Forces by Land and Sea, and Marshall-Law over his people, was as good a pardon for all offences, as the Law of England could make him.*]

It was without example, that the Lord Chancellor of England should give his opinion and counsell against the King, and in case of Treason too, and tell it to the Traylor himselfe, convicted, after Examination, Tryall, Verdict, Sentence, and but Reprieved? No Sir, no man of judgment will give you credit, a scandall upon his discretion, if not more, his alleagance: If you be mistaken, amend it in your Reply, I expect it.

But I answer, how oft this was urged by Sir Walter, and the other Argument, *Singularis Testis*, I refer to the Relation of his Tryall; wherein I say again, (as other Authors professe) *He tired the Court and Jury with impertinencies*, as to those two points especially. And in earnest, I have collected from the most, even from that Manuscript intituled, *Sir Walter Raleigh's own writing*, and from the best Records that I could meet with, besides the Reports of divers hearers and all conclude, and expressly mention (except that of his own) that he tired the Court with impertinencies, as to the matter: His *Divinity, Law, and Reason* were answered, and over-ruled by the Judges opinion, which is the certain rule to all *Juries*, as to matter of Law. And yet this my *Libeller* fathers all upon me, as if I only meant to make him guilty.

Ibid. He saies, [*That Raleigh and Kenuish did truly believe in the Mine, not with Chymicall tricks, as this trifling lyar (saies he) would intimate.*]

The Frenchman saies, none but a Bastard-Gentleman gives a True Gentleman the lie. *

But Sir, to returne your lye with a truth, I shall say more concerning your chymicall Mine. Mr. Cary Raleigh your voucher, writ a fawning clawing Epistle to a worthy Gentleman Mr. James Howel, to recollect what he had writ of Sir Walter. To which he replies, and not to recant, but to rechant what he had said before. May 1645. For he again calls it, *an ayrie supposititious Mine which turned to reall believe in his undertakers of that voyage to their undoing.* And tells Mr. Cary, that Sir Walters onely son, Walter Raleigh, at the storming of Saint Tome said as much in effect: Come on my noble hearts (said he) this is the Mine

As we come for, and they who think there is any other, are fools. His own Father was none. Nay, you shall find *Sir Robert Baker* his Histori-
cally Narrations say so too, and King *James* his Declaration makes
it evident to be but a deceipt. But I find what this *Libeller* would have
of me, as was bestowed by that ingenuous Author upon *Mr. Cary* :
who advised him to let *Sir Walter* rest quietly in his grave, that his
vertues may live in you (*Mr. Cary*) as he (to abuse him) saies they do,
no doubt ; and ever since to this comfess it seems he hath been silent,
at least in publique, and serviceable to *Mr. Howell*. As no doubt this *Li-
beller* also, may in time become so serviceable to me.

Page 11 12.

And, for all his *Apologie* and pretences in this whole Page, filled Pag. 11.
up with scurrilous language, I mean not now to meddle with, any
further. My duty to the truth was to relate the narrative of the Trea-
son, sufficiently proved, and all those passages in reference to that,
and *Kemish* death, and my observations upon all, necessarily condu-
cing ; I refer the Reader to my *History*, being too too large to insert
here again.

He is troubled [That I should say, that *Sir Walter* had but a mean Pag. 11,
estate, which he meant to make up by his voyage.] And saies, [That 12.
he may thank King *James* for the meannesse of his fortune, who took
away *Sherborn* from him; but when King *James* came into England,
Raleigh was Lord *Warden* of the *Stameries*, &c. all which he lost
for his supposed Treason.]

He may thank King *James*, he saies, for the meannesse of his For-
tune and reckons up his Offices under Queen *Elizabeth* (not a foot
of Land his Father left him.) All which he got (with your favour)
by free grace of Queen *Elizabeth*, and might have kept that, and de-
served more (King *James* was bountifull) which himselfe lost and for-
feited, for unfaithfulness: to his Sovereign Lord and King, her Suc-
cessor ; and thereby had left him but a mean fortune, which he de-
signed to advance, by his Voyage : And were he innocently executed,
why was *Mr. Cary Raleigh's* pretentious, and claimes in *Parliament*,
in reference to *Sir Walter*, laid aside, before himselfe was cleer'd
of taint in blood, and so lost his claim by *Parliament*; which concludes
also *Sir Walter* guilty, without dispute ; when *Mr. Cary* had all ad-
vantage of his friends by *Parliament* to help him to it.

Page 13.

To confirm what I have said, [They had matter enough to make Pag. 13.
away]

away his life, in this his last businesse, since his first Tryall.]

Sir *Walter* was bound, not to infect the main Land of the *West-Indies*, and so he promised the *King*, who allured *Gondoma* so much; and to satisfie their jealousy; Sir *Walters Letter* (if any such) might be sent to *Saint Tome* for his security; which therefore aggravates the fault of Sir *Walter*.

Besides, his biting jests upon all, not sparing his dread *Soveraign*, for admitting them, the more true, the wider skar: Many such of his, like the wound of a chewed bullet, the ruggednesse makes the hurt incurable. And besides, that which the Frenchman *Manwaig* confessed of him to the *King*, as he reported since to Mr. *B. C.* a Gentleman of worth, who will justifie his report to be so foul so unreasonable against *King James*, that may satisfie any good subject he deserved death: Not that I take upon me to reveal it, being unwillingly enforced to speak thus much against the dead, who hath paid the debt due for his offences here, and no doubt enjoyes his pardon and forgiveness hereafter, with my Christian zeal and charitable affection for ever.

Page 14.

Page 14.

And now my Libeller skips back again, to *Folio 365.* and to pick out some scandalous passage there, *he meets with the Earle of Pembroke, and his Brother Montgomery*, whom I did but mention, and that justly, [*That they were men of considerable Descents, though of no great fame in their Merits.*] And he concludes, [*That my passage in the main parts of it, is true, and cannot be denied.*] Yet, he saies, [*I hat I confesse the King was kinde to Montgomery which he fetcheth out of Folio 592.*] Not worth the turning over so many leaves, to prove his false Quotations and matter.

Page 15.

Page 15.

Then in a moment, [*He takes notice of the poisoning of Overbury.*] which is in the beginning of the History of *King James*; I list not search the folio, & he tells me not where [*Overbury and Essex's Wife: that I extenuate that foul murder:*] not with any exception to the truth of the story, but with his own selfe-pride, to make us believe he knew somewhat of the matter, and repeats only what I have said.

But he regrets upon *Sommer set*, for begging from *Raleigh Sherborn*, which he got by begging from an other before. Indeed *Sherborn* sticks in his stomach: It is the Note of another, not of me, That the seat of *Sherborn* had been the successive Inheritance of *Traitors*.

Our.

Our Libeller hath a mighty minde to it ; he may in time, no doubt, deserve it, and more, upon the same score.

As for [*Overburies Character, of pride &c. Thraasonicall &c.*] which he denies, let him read *Sommersets Arraignment*, where Sir Francis Bacon sets him out in the same termes, and mentioneth the most of all my matter, and what I said of *Overburies* pride.

Page 16.

[*Haply* (saies my Libeller) *Overbury might have some tincture of pride in him, as indeed who would not, &c.*] You seem to be a pert, proud, dandy-prat indeed. Pag. 16.

But ah! out upon his simplicity [*That haply* (saith he) *Overbury had threatned this Gentleman in some illegall projects, of which, they say, he had alwaies store, which he offered to Sommerset; and therefore he is not only contented, his Body should have been poisoned, whilst alive; but he will, as far as in him lies, if any would believe such a fellow, murder his same too, after his death.*] Ibid.

I protest religiously, that I read this his simple scandal over and over again, ere I could imagine the man meant it by me; so much I professe Christianity, so little I am guilty of projects, and was so young then, and unacquainted, that I scarce knew *Overburies*'s face: Surely he means another, his best friend, the grand Court-projector, and so stiled; I never was any.

Page 17, 18.

He hunts counter, hook here, and fetches a freak out of *Folio 429.* [*A scandall he calls it upon the Lord Kensington &c.*] for imitating the Earle of Carlile in his fine cloths, and calling him the naturall son of the Earle of Warwick.] And so he ravells Into the reason of his Birth and Parents, which I had no minde to meddle with; but for satisfiying any mistakes therein, I stiled him the *Naturall Son*. Let him consult the reason, why the Parliament of Hen. 8. stiled the Princeesse Elizabeth, *Naturall Daughter* to King Henry the eight. The rest not worth the answer, nor the foolish flirt that followes. Pag. 17, 18.

Then he falls again upon my mistakes, from whence would you think? Out of my Preface, where he finds, [*That King Henry the eighth was a Lutheran, when he lived* (saies he) *and died: Papist.*] And to prove it, [*He cites the Execution of More and Fisher for being Papists, and multitudes more, for not subscribing to the six Articles,*] Page 18.

Articles , which were rank Popery.]

So then, he concludes for me, That *Henry* the eighth had been a *Papist*, and a *Puritan*, and, as *Sir Walter* saies in his Preface, died an *Atheist*. And indeed , *VVill Somers*, the *Jeaster*, on a suddain very sad, told them the reason, That he had been at *Tiburn*, where *Priests* were hanged for being *Papists*, and some others at *Smithfield* burnt for *Protestants*; but, was resolved to save himselfe, and no way better, than to be of *King Henrie's* Religion, which is (said he) none at all.

Page 19.

pag. 19. [He tells us , (saies he) Folio 487. that all our Marriages with Spain have been unfortunate to this Crown, and then travells into the story of the *Black Prince* (as if he had Married in Spain) this is his own inference, not mine.

No lesse then 487. *Fol.* from the Preface, where we left him; it seemes I must skip thither too. I speaking of *Prince Charles* his Treaty with *Spain*. However (said I) the ill successe of our former marriages and medlings with that Nation, being malignant to us; witnesse the *Black Prince* his Voyage into *Spain*; to settle *Dona Pedro*, &c. his body either corrupted by the aire, or by their Drugs imployed. What is this to any Marriage? But then indeed I instance our ill successe in *Prince Arthurs* suddain death, with *Katharine of Austria*; and *Mary of England*, with *Philip of Spain*. Now. said I, to paralell those abroad with others at home to our own Subjects, the first, with *Edward* the fourth; the last, with *Henry* the eighth, from them there proceeded two *Queens*, *Elizabeth*, as never could produce greater examples of happinesse to *England*. But our *Libeller* hath a malice to our French Matches, and comparatively gores them through the Spanish sides: It may be so, both have been bad enough, what's that to me? Yet, in this I desire to satisfie another, not you.

Page 20.

pag. 20. My mistakes, [That the *Duke and Yelverton* had no communication in the Tower.] And why? [Because *Belfore* that said so, was not *Lieutenant* then, but after *Moor*, which was since.] and could not *Belfore* be acquainted with what was done before, and so a sufficient Author to report it?

[The like of *Ree* and *Ramsley's Duell*.]

Discoursing of Combats, *tempore Jacobi*, I mention many before and

and since, in reference to time, and give a hint of these (of late) two Scores, meaning the year (lately) when I write this History, 1655. for all men may know, it was in King Charles his time, and so to be understood from my own words.

To carp at me, [*He cleers Chelsey house, that the Duke did not buy it, but had it for nothing; and bids me ask the Countesse of Middlesex, whether she did not tell him so?*]

A pretty employment to enquire of a Lady, whether No-body does bely her?

The like of Copt-hall, [*And that my mistakes, ignorance, and errors are infinite, in language and manner.*]

And concludes with the like counsell to me, as to one Sir Edmond [*Read more, and write lesse.*] Pag. 21.

For which I shall give him a fee, as no doubt Sir Edmond did, who turn'd his back to his advice and bad him busse his bum.

Not to die in your debt, I return my counsell to boot: In your Reply (if you please) belie not the dead, nor abuse the living, lest the dirt of both bedaube your selfe, and you deserve the finall sentence; your first Libell to the fire by the Hadgman's hands; your next about your neck: Beware the Gallowes.

AN



AN APPENDIX.

The Observators Scandall upon the
University of Cambridge, and upon the
then Commencers, and upon me,

Page 3. Answered.

Obser-
vator.

The Uni-
versity
he means.



BT I cannot learn (saies he) hat this man (San-
derson) had ever any relation to the Court,
more then at large, until he became Secretary
to the Earl of Holland, when he was Chance-
ler of Cambridge, where he behaved himself
so corruptly, that he was with great disgrace
and scorn turned out of his place, for taking
bribes of divers Schollars, to make them Di-

ctors and Batchelors of Divinity, when the King came to an Inter-
tainment at Cambridge; so that for a long time after, these men
were by every boy called, Sanderfon's Doctors.

Univerfi-
ty.

Ansiv.

I cannot say (say I) that I am sad or regret upon Calumnie;
nor may I sit down and despise that Libell, which endeavours to
rob me of my Reputation. My credit heretofore, and innocency
herein, hath ever since (as before) steered my Bark through the
waves of an adverse Fortune; not wholly and only by Fame, that's
beneath the profession of a sufficient Pilot: But yet, in bearing it
about me, I saile the better with Winde and Tyde, especially in
the Dregs of these late times, which leaves us nought, but the name
and husk of Reputation, so much sought for by our Fathers, now
becomes hardly worth the preserving: But, he that has none of his
own, gives the lesse value to anothers.

Sapiens

An Appendix.

Sapiens non flet, sed tacet.

And so I answer; That upon publick rumour at London, in the beginning of *March*, 1631, of *King Charles* and his *Queen*, their first royall intent to visit the *Univerſity of Cambridge*; It was intimated (upon deſigne) to the *Earl of Holland* Chancellor of that *Univerſity*, by perſons intereſſed with him, *Sir Nathaniel Rich*, *Mr. John Pim*, and others, (as appears by their Letters) for his Lordſhip to procure his Maieſtie, to create Degrees of free grace on ſundry perſons, *Schollars of merit*, to proceed *Graduates at the Univerſity*: They then recommending ſome perſons by names, of pretended note (*Preciſians*) formerly reſuſed at the uſuall *Commencement*, for being *Non-conformiſts*, &c. And that therefore now, it would be the means of endearing them and others to his Lordſhip: All which he reſented with ſo much aſſurance then given, *That if they had not their Degree, none other ſhould paſſe*. And afterwards, to inculcate their deſigne, there appears ſeverall Letters *Memorative*, and *Monitory*, to that effect, from *Sir Nathaniel Rich* and *Mr. John Pim*, *That there was ſome ſecret workings againſt them*, which if his Lordſhip ſhould give way unto it wou'd procure the greateſt prejudice to his Lordſhip, eſpecially in that place he holds in the *Univerſity*, that ever any Chancellor received; and as indeed afterwards it proved ſo to be: For they, being the firſt inſerted in the *Bill of Commencement*, that was offered to the *King*, and he privately informed of their condition, *un-conform*, with his own hand caſt them out, and others alſo, as doth appear: This being the firſt occaſion whence the *Calumnies* proceeded: For, the *King* and *Queen*, and concourſe of *Nobility*, being come to the *Univerſity*, and to ſtay but two daies, and ſundry ſuitors to the *King* and to the Chancellor, for their *Chaplains* and others to proceed, as by divers their Letters, *Bills*, and *Papers* do appear; The Chancellor that morning calls for his Secretary, *Mr. Sanderson*, to form the *Commencers* names into a *Bill*, in the preſence of *Noblemen* and others, they adviſing, altering, and inſerting, as they conceived, and as it appears; which being ingroſſed fair, was by the Chancellor inſtantly preſented to the *King* in his *Bed-chamber*, who coming out with it in his hand, and corrected; the Secretary was called again, and commanded, in preſence of the *King* at dinner, to ingroſſe the ſame fair, as the *King* had altered it, and as it doth appear; and which the *King* received, and took it into the *Bedchamber*, where

An Appendix.

it was read, and consulted, and signed, and delivered by the King unto the Chancellor, who instantly delivered it to the Vice-Chancellor, and Caput Senatus (as appears) attending at the Chamberdore; and it was dated the 20th of March, 1631. and directed, To our trusty and wellbeloved, the Vice-Chancellor, and Caput Senatus, of Our University of Cambridge.

The King and Court presently departing, the University now at leisure to consult the Bill in the Regent-house, and finding sundry Names not admitted Commencers, and others inserted, contrary to the private designe of a prevailing party; some began to scandal the Proceedings and Chancellor, as covertly as they could; and, as in such cases most usuall, they blamed the instrumentall servant, the Secretary. But then, as the fresh-men Scholars, and young Students humors, moved at Cambridge, they also vented their severall Rhimes; and so afterwards did those of Oxford, as they had been dealt withall before at their Act, in the time of King James.¹

These passages followed the heels of the Court, and settled at Whitehall, where it encreased (Sander son being absent) to a discourse among the light headed Multitude, ignorant of the managing of the Bill, and now of the manner of the Commencement. The Chancellor as unknowing of the consequence, not being able to answer for all, and timorous to take any thing upon himselfe, or to examine the cause, was pleased to suffer the suspicion upon his Secretary, whether in earnest or in jeast.

Sander son coming to Court, complained to his Lord, for enduring a scandal so long without sense of the injury; and after serious discussing of the particulars, Sander son in some regret, took leave of his Lord, protesting to clear himselfe, and so to submit it to the success, which, in truth, his Lordship was not willing to meddle with. And Sander son doth now protest before God, that the late Earle of Essex being then present, followed him out, and said, Mr. Sander son, you have just cause to vindicate your selfe; and spare none, let it light on whom it will.

And further, thus much more by the way, and a great truth, which did precede this Action. Sander son groaning under the burthen of his Masters debts, had complained thereof, to be discharged of them, and to take leave of him. And now his Lord might take this unhandsome occasion to repay him with this Accident, true or false; it being afterwards fomented (as appears) by him and his,
with

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with such odd unlikely pretences, as discovered neither ground of guilt, or wit enough (in some of them) to devise worse; A sad requital to *Sanderſon's* service, by whose immediate induſtry, his Lord had been elected *Chancellor* of that *Univerſity*.

And now the quarrell began 'twixt *Maſter* and *Man*, and the *Secretaries* task to prove *Negative*, by *Teſtimonies*, which were ſent to him from the *Heads* of the *Univerſity*; firſt, by *Letters* to the *Chancellor* (who ſuppreſſed his) and afterwards by *Teſtimonies* from all, or the moſt, *Commencer*; *Vindicating* the *Matter*, the *Manner*, and *Him*, as appears by many, nay, multitudes of *Letters*, *Papers*, *Certificates*, *Teſtimonies*, all *Originalls*.

Nay more, the *King* had private intimation, and was afterwards ſatisfied of all the former particulars in writing; which encouraged *Sanderſon* to petition his *Majeſtie*, concerning his engagements for his *Lordſhip*, and had eſpecial leave to prefer his *Bill* in *Chancery* againſt the *Earle of Holland* preſently following, concerning his engagements for his *Lordſhip*, of a very great ſum. and monies due to him, which he thereby recovered. This very buſineſſe of the *Univerſity*, was by *Sanderſon* handſomly drawn into queſtion in that *Court*, and as earneſtly endeavoured by his *Lordſhip*, to have it taken off the *file*, and ſuppreſſed; which was thereupon referred to a *Maſter of Chancery*, and, Reported to be neceſſarily conducing to the *Suit*: And afterwards, was by ſeverall depoſitions of *Witneſſes*, examined, and *Sanderſon* cleared from any guilt therein, or corruption in him with any. And ſo that matter is by *Record* left free for any man to revive, or further to accuſe him legally if they can; which no perſon durſt ever undertake to do: Only this *Obſervator*, now 25 years ſince, endeavours it, by direct *Libell* and *Scandall*.

And it appears by certain knowledge, that *Sanderſon* continued at *Court* in publick, from the inſtant time of this *Commencement*, with more reputation, and more reſpect of the beſt, than before; even to this day, with that generall good eſteem, as may become the repute of a civill Gentleman.

W. SANDERSON.

Three Letters from Doctor Samuel Collins,
Regius Professor, and Provost of Kings Colledge
in the University of Cambridge, concerning the
Commencement; and Mr. Sanderson.

To the Right Honorable, the Earle of Holland, Chancellor
of the University of Cambridge.

Right Honorable, my very good Lord, and our only Patron,
&c. — I might take occasion of your Honours late
bounty to the *University*, but wanting no such occasion at any
time, I make bold to open my mouth in the cause of such extremi-
ty, as the wisest amongst men charges us not to be silent in: The ra-
ther, because it may be my words of triumph, in such late plenty of
Commencers (as the fashion is of Fathers when they create) hath
given some occasion of misreporting the *Action*. Truly, tender of
your Honours inviolate reputation; yea, and the indemnity of the
meanest of them, that belong to your Honour: for your Honours
own sake, I may boldly affirm, not any one unworthy, that I know,
either Doctor or Bachelor in Divinity, or Commencer, in any
kinde; but sundry of them rather Paragons; only One, the most
suspected for insufficiency, yet, offered to give Caution to keep his
Acts; then which, nothing could be more required at the strictest.
When we consulted about them in the Consistory, the Names of
sundry were set down in Paper, for most allowable, even by them of
the Heads, that held backward most. Lack of Time, and lack of
Living, are too slender exceptions in my opinion, not only against
his Majesty's Largesse at his coming, and glorifying of his Tri-
umphs all we could (The glory of the King, being the multitude of
his people) but against worth and sufficiency, wheresoever such at any
time fail of Time or Living. If your Honour had seen what past in
this kind under other Chancellors, and namely, in conferring the
Master of Arts Degree; yet, that Degree opens way to holy Or-
ders in men, perhaps not otherwise worthy (a perilous conse-
quence) Here, few Masters of Art, nor any unworthy; And for the
Graduates in Divinity, they were all Ministers afore, and so no
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danger of the foresaid ill consequence. We had but two *Doctors* now, more then we had in the last sicknesse time, or rather three lesse, as that number encreased soon after; yet then, his *Majestie* came not at all amongst us.

Now, both *King* and *Queen*, and all, deserves more and more *Schollars* by far, than that time, which had nothing but wofull necessity to excuse it. This for the generall, that your *Lordship* conceive no regret upon *Rumors*, I have presumed (one of many) yet, in my zeal to your *Honour*, wherein I come behinde none.

For *Mr. Sanderfon* in particular, a man of most usefull abilities: That he hath not wronged your *Honour*, whatsoever some may suggest, I am not only told, but do verily believe, that he never compacted with any for that courtesie; and one of them at the instant afore these slashes broke forth, told me as much of his own accord, *Doctor Grant* by name; and, I think, the rest will say no lesse, if they were deposed, as many have been: If afterwards they made him any voluntary requitall for his service, which is more then I know, (yet, the most that can be surmized) yet, neither any fee abated to the *University* thereby, and the parties, in escaping other charges, think themselves no doubt well dealt with, as well they may. So with my prayers for your *Honour*, &c.

Cambr. Kings Coll.
4th. April, 1632.

Your Lordships Beadsmā, and
most humble Servant,

Samuel Collins.

To the right Worshipfull, my very good friend, *Mr.*
Doctor Bing, in *London*, *Chancery lane*.

SIR,

FOr your wonted good *Newes*, &c.

For our number of *Doctors* and other *Commencers*; Why? could these belesse, to glorifie such a *Triumph*, as his *Majesties* vouchsafed *Presence*, and that with his *Queen*, and all, so full of honourable courtesie, of all sides? Remember, how many of late in the sicknesse, no such cause as now, and far more of kin to *presence*.

Neither do I conceive, but that the *Gentleman* you speak of,
whom

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whom I had the good luck to know of late, Mr. Sanderfon, our Noble Chancellor's Secretary, hath both kept his word to the Doctors, and increased beholdings to his Lord, without any the least blemish to reputation. This you may avouch, that I was in the Consistory at the debating, and no man in the Paper, to whom just exception lay, that I can now remember.

The worst was, that one was short in living, by which reason, I had never been a Doctor; for, I was bare Fellow of a *Colledge*, and my Father charged me on his blessing, not to alledge Poverty against taking my *Degree*. Doctor *Cesar* only lackt time, for I disputed on him my selfe, and he woon so much approbation then, as he might as easily have been *Doctor*, as *Bachelor of Divinity*, if he had had time: But he is a *Noble-mans son* and of *Oxford*, and so merits the more. As likewise Doctor *Gray*, a rare *Scho'lar*, one of them that commenced now by the King. I must leave you, I see: only know, that which bred all, or most, of the *Scruples*, which was intended, for more satisfaction, viz. To defer it till next *Term*. God keep you, *Amen*.

Your assured poor friend,

Kings Coll. Camb.
2d Aprill, 1632.

Sam. Collins.

To the VVorshipfull, my very good Cousin, Mr. Prinn, these, by the Wardrobe in London.

SIR,

IN much heaviness, &c.

NOW concerning your question of the *Doctors*, whereof our friend is *One*: Sir, I know not what they can say there, as I said before; but, for my part, as I acknowledged publicly before them all in the *Regent-house*, when it was my turn to speak loudest, I see not how we could do his *Majestie* lesse honour, for so great grace as he had don *Us*. If you had seen when *Bishop Harsnet* was *Vice-Chancellor*, or heard what was said of it, when they went out by *Clusters*, and every body that would be, was consecrated *Priest*, (as the *Scriptures* say of *Jeroboam's* times I think) where it was so much the worse, because *Masterships of Arts*, which is an introduction to *Orders*, was bestowed so commonly; but not one *Minister*

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ster made the more, for all the *Doctors* and *Bachelors* in *Divinity*, that Commenced by the King now. I confesse, I presented many whom I know not by face: but I am much assured of their sufficiency, and have good grounds, either all, or most of them, some in the *Superlative*, these are the *Bachelors* of *Divinity* that I speak of: As for the *Doctors*, I can say more of them, and more groundedly. I was first in the *Consistory*, where the *Agitation* was freshest, and not so hot, perhaps, as afterwards, when it came to younger mens handlings: But sundry of them were approved then by all, even by such as held back most; and their names taken, and set down in writing, for men meet to passe; nor any just exception, that I can remember, to any of them all. As for lack of *Living*, let them look to it that affect that *Degree*: My best friend, that drave me to *Commencement*, almost with a curse, unlesse I obeyed him, was wont to say, That *Degrees* were the reward of *Learning*, not of *Living*. I had not a penny more, then a bare *Fellowship* of a *Colledge*, when I *Commenced*. As for lack of *Time*, truly if that be not fit for his Majesty to dispence with, what is fit? Doctor *Cesar* lackt time, but first, he is a *Privie-Counsellors* son and, an *Oxford* man, and had time more then enough there; and satisfied so well in his *Disputation* here of late (whereof I am witness, because I disputed upon him) that but for lack of *Time*, he had gaine'd his *Dكتورship* with the same facility, that he did his other *Degree* in *Divinity* then. Other exceptions I remember none.

Mr. Sanderfon hath, in my opinion, done neither the *University* discredit, nor the *Church* disparagment, nor his Lord, our *Chancellor*, disservice or disreputation, nor swerved from his word given to the *Doctors*, which was, that we should have sufficient men, and to passe by head, as I take it they did, or in effect did, by most, or all.

Acts indeed we lack, and *Cautions* were not given for them; but are they kept when given, as of late in the sickness? does it not end in a forfeit to the *Proctors* and *Bedles*, &c? So then, it is all one for the manifestation of the worth of the parties, or the young *Schollars* profiting by their *Acts*, whether they had given *Caution* or no, if it may end in forfeit, as it hath usually. One of the *Commencers*, whose sufficiency was most suspected, offered *Caution* to keep his *Acts*.

*Having much to say, taking leisure and pleasure to satisfy your
good*

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*good minde, and clear the fame of our University, and her friend,
in a word or two, I commend you to God.*

April 3d. 1632.

*Your assured loving friend,
Samuel Collins.*

*W^e whose names are hereunto subscribed, being clear
from any relation or interest, to any persons herein concerned,
have perused the severall Bills of Commencers names, corrected,
& after ingrossed; and also the Letters, Papers, Certificates,
and Testimonies, concerning the said Commencement, at
the University of Cambridge, and the proceedings therein,
abundantly satisfactory: And we do unanimously believe them
to be the Originalls, and some of us do know divers of them to
be so especially those of Doctor Collins. And we do agree and
conclude, that Mr. Sanderson, then Secretary to the Earle
of Holland, Chancellor to the said University of Cam-
bridge, is clear from any the least blemish, corruption, or disre-
pute therein. And according to the expressions in sundry of the
said Testimonies, so in particular, and in the words as Do-
ctor Collins hath attested, so say we :*

*That Mr. Sanderson hath not wronged the University,
Nor the Church,*

Nor the Chancellor.

*Nor are the Commencers insufficient, but rather
most worthy.*

Nor hath he done amisse herein :

But rather increased beholdings unto all.

Math. Brooks. D. D.

Tho. Swadling. D. D.

Tho. Bird. L. L. D.

Pel: Salmon. D. M. Coll. Med. Lond. Soc.

Amias Reading. B. D.

20th. June, 1656.

FINIS.

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